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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxaníto*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sáy-ám* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxaníto* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-ablík* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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869 to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times
538 all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

The cry "*udôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young
869 people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the ex-
517 clamation "*udôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted
538 by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the
[273] attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories: nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world
[602] alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or
855] grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

869 How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between
787 good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted
[602 purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indis-
855] pensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

577 When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men
121 who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar [71] beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained texts giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings

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833 are reciprocated by his sweetheart. To do this he proceeds exactly
787 in the same way as does the Isneg who is intending to go on a jour-
584 ney: he observes the flight of the *labág* bird, whose female is called
salazi-bát, and if the bird fails to cross his path, the omen is good;
778 if it crosses his path, however, he will wait for another occasion in the not too distant future in order to observe again the flight of the *labág*, and, in case of a favorable answer, to go on with his intentions.

584 The definite steps just referred to consist in the following: the young man takes a bundle of betel leaves, some fifty or more betel nuts, and a ring; he rolls everything in a handkerchief, and carries his precious burden to the house of his sweetheart, some time in the evening. Once there he drops the whole package, called *luptág*, into one of the girl's *aligmamán* baskets, without saying the least word about the same. If the girl brings it back to him, it is a sign of refusal on her part; but if she keeps it, the boy knows for certain that his love has been reciprocated, and both consider themselves as engaged by tacit agreement.

From now on the young man will pay his girl regular visits, even though he may continue occasionally to see other girls. If such visits should stop for a considerable time, although without direct fault of the boy, any Isneg girl would have to conclude that the boy's love had shifted toward somebody else. Should the boy break the engagement, either on his own account or in obedience to the wishes of his elders, he is liable to be fined by the parents of the outraged girl.

To know for sure that the other party's interest has not slackened, Isneg lovers sometimes resort to the proposal of a date for some future meeting. If the girl does not appear at the trysting place, the boy is *maikówa* (disappointed, annoyed), as this is an unmistakable sign that the girl does not love him any more; if the boy fails to make an appearance, the girl knows that his love toward her has ceased. Although this is done by young people, whether engaged or not, it goes without saying that in the former case it takes place only if some doubt has arisen in the boy's mind or in that of the girl as to the faithfulness of his or her partner.

584 As soon as two people have become engaged, actual Isneg custom
836 allows them to have sexual relations, although no ceremonies have been performed and they are not yet living together. This happens very often of course when the boy goes to see his girl in the evening. A boy who passes his evenings or nights at the house of the girl to whom he has become engaged, is said to *maxal-allág* or *maxad-adág*.

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811 *Kútaw*'s boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóñăn* (place on
772 the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this
side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pădpíd* or side plank,
776 which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus the *kaduduwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáñ* in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know. And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter. Besides, the *lablabbáñ* is not an ordinary *labbáñ*, neither are *Kútaw* and the *kaduduwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordinary one?

772 The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáñ* is that it is full of cogon grass (*labbáñ*) and of worms.

776 *Kútaw* himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his
292 headax or *aliwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely
411 the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1: 233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kaduduwá* live a happy life in the *Aglalannawán* (called *Tagtaggăyán* at Bayag) or realm of the dead:
775 it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream: they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before, have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo; it is a real gold or silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times
775 and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their
787 relatives, in which case the latter is *makaduduwá*, becomes sick and dies (such *kaduduwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *săy-ám* sacrifice, etc.

775 It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

764 462

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*mañusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábūg*).

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Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deñ* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

764 171

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

764 178 787

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764 tion of the same, whenever a *labág* bird passes under (*magsilpút*)
178 the building: indeed, they believe that, if they continued to build
787 the house on that particular spot, one or more of the inmates would certainly die.

764 Nowadays the authorities insist on burial in common graveyards,
177 set aside for the purpose and situated outside and away from the settlement. Although this ordinance is still occasionally evaded, it becomes harder and harder to do so, on account of the presence of sanitary inspectors in every municipal district; and so the Isneg have gradually accommodated themselves to circumstances, as will be explained more fully when treating of the decoration of the tomb.

764 At the time set for the funeral, in the evening, the coffin (or lower part of a jar) containing its precious burden, is carried to the grave (*itamán;* sometimes pronounced *itanám;* in Ilоko: *itaném*). If the body has to be coffined at the grave, it is carried on the *tádag* or bier. Actually, when the body is interred in the graveyard, the funeral takes place in the daytime, and any time of the day will do.

Before and after the body is laid or set to rest, a good many rites and ceremonies take place, and these I shall try to describe with as much order and accuracy as possible.

The position of the body in the tomb is the same as that of the *innát* in the house, at the time it was coffined: if the latter was stretched out at full length or otherwise laid on its back, the body in the grave will rest supine; if the *innát* was kept in a sitting or squatting posture, the corpse will be placed that way in the grave, its head remaining uppermost.

And now as to the *tanád* or objects that are interred together with the body, and which are believed to be used by the *kadudwá* of the deceased in the realm of the dead. Some of them are always present, others only occasionally.

The following objects are never lacking:

A *tariyáw* (a piece of earthenware, plate or cup), containing a certain amount of cooked rice;

Some viands usually wrapped up in one or more leaves;

A receptacle (any kind) containing some water;

A bundles of clothes;

An *aliwá* or headax, in the case of a man; an *ikó* knife, in the case of a woman;

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head. In February 1929, a man from Aputan had come home from a distant town to find his wife dead and buried. One day, when I was visiting the place, a few days afterwards, I saw him come back from his work some time before noon, and walk toward the cemetery, which was situated at a little distance from the settlement. While on his way, he wept and lamented in a loud voice. After he had reached the tomb of his wife, I could still distinctly hear him lamenting and crying intermittently for about half an hour. The neighbors told me that this had been repeated every day since he came back home and that the same scene would probably be enacted in the same way for several days to come.

And so we reach the close of this most important period, namely the *obóbāt* ceremony which ends mourning once for all. Indeed after the *obóbāt* all taboos cease, *lapát* (tabooed) coconuts have been freed (*inúkas*), all signs of mourning are gone, and if some of the relatives are not yet prepared to forget the deceased, they merely resort to *magló* in order to continue to show their undying love.

During the *obóbāt*, pigs are usually offered in sacrifice, while the *maxaníto* is performed by the shamaness, who at the time is supposed to be obsessed by the spirit or *kadudúwá* of the deceased. The deceased, through her mouth, generally voices all his grievances against the living, whether they be present or absent, and insists on all his dues being rendered him. Nevertheless, if no pigs are killed and a dog is the only animal to be offered in sacrifice, no *maxaníto* takes place.

About the middle of the ceremony, after the killing of the dog, either before or after eating, the mourners proceed to change their apparel, they *magba-bát*. If the deceased was a married person, it is the duty of one of the male relatives, either of the husband or of the wife (no matter which of the two departed this life), to give new clothes and a string of beads to the surviving widow or widower. As soon as the said male relative (*mama-bát*) has handed the new clothes to the survivor, the latter leaves the group and goes into some corner of the house in order to change his or her apparel, which action is always accompanied by a fresh outburst of grief and loud lamentations on his or her part. After the brand-new garments have been donned, he or she again joins the company, and is adorned by the *mama-bát* in person with the string of beads he has brought for the purpose.

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and, in any case, it is much too easily consumed to allow them any degree of comfort.

Several reasons may be assigned for the exceptional poverty of these people. The spirit *Lańdúsān* is very often the culprit. If it happens through his machinations that people are brought to the verge of starvation, the latter are said to be *malańdúsān*. Sometimes, too, a want of civic spirit that has been observed in a certain person, may induce other people to pray the spirits to have his plants consumed by animals, and consequently to cause him to become poor. In such a case, the enemies of this unworthy citizen are said to *maglábuy*. Other people are simply *nakurmáń*, they are unlucky: they cannot raise anything on their fields, and the result is wretchedness and want of food.

It may also happen that some people are unable to complete any kind of work in their rice fields: they are *nadannág*. Whatever they try to accomplish, whether planting or weeding, whether clearing a field or fencing it, they can never bring it to a finish. This, of course, almost inevitably leads to poverty and ultimately ends in the lack of the necessary livelihood. Nevertheless there is an easy remedy to this sad situation: the only thing to be done is to prepare *inapúxān* (betel for chewing), and to offer it to the spirit in charge by laying it down somewhere within his reach, at the same time reciting the following prayer, which was given me by *Púlog* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch):[2]

Iápugko iáw aníto ta dinā- pagdandannaxán (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, spirit, so that you do not make me lazy).[3]

A rather remote, but very real cause of destitution, is a person's habit of being late (*nekábut*) whenever some work has to be done. In such a case the only means for him to escape being numbered sooner or later among the needy is to shake off his inbred torpor and to imitate his more diligent companions.

In this connection I should be allowed to mention the lines of the hand, as the art of palmistry is far from being unknown among the Isneg, and a person who is *rappád*, which means that one of the lines

[2] The way to prepare *inapúxān* will soon be explained at length. For explanation of Isneg dialects and branches, see M. Vanoverbergh, Isneg Life Cycle, II, Marriage, Death, and Burial, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1938, v. 3, no. 3, pp. 261-64.

[3] Lest I be prevented from finishing my work. This is said only of work in the rice fields: clearing land, planting rice, etc.

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of the hand crosses the palm from one side to the other continuously and without interruption, is absolutely unable to raise a large amount of rice.[4]

Nobody, however, should feel dismayed, as the Isneg possess a cure even for the direst poverty. It consists in having recourse to the use of a very powerful amulet, which has been designed most especially for the needy by the ever merciful spirits, namely the *taxa-rút*, a small herb that grows in the forest. The only question is to know it and to find it.

As will be made plain in the course of this paper, the Isneg firmly believe in a strict division of labor. Each sex has its own work to do, and generally no member of the opposite sex would dare encroach upon this age-long custom. Nevertheless there are a few male individuals who form an exception to this rule: these are the *tăyyén* and the *takowán*. The *tăyyén* (pronounced *tăyyán* in Bolo) do not know how to handle a hatchet, while, on the other hand, they use a woman's *ikó*-knife as easily as if it were a tool specifically their own; even in their gait, they take over everything that is characteristic of woman. The *takowán* dress like women and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex. But, I repeat it, these are exceptions.

No true Isneg man goes to work without his headaxe or *aliwá* usually stuck in his G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost.[5] This is his constant companion and also the sole tool he needs when at work in the field. It will not be amiss to give here a detailed description of the *aliwá* of the Isneg.

The headaxe or *aliwá* consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve (*alupítăn*).

The helve is made of hard wood furnished by several trees that grow all through the Isneg country, for instance the *taggáy* (a kind of molave), the *bañlát*, the *kanúmăy* (a kind of ebony), etc. The end of the helve, opposite to the head in which the blade is fixed, is called *aguwáy*. The blade is attached to the helve by means of a tang or spike (*otáñ*) that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long iron ring (*palábo* or *paraddál*).

[4] The *rappád* also easily resorts to murder: he is a dangerous person.

[5] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 1, no. 5, Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands, p. 217. fig. 36.

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it is made of burnt shells[9] and usually kept in a small calabash (*busiŋán* or *tabáyad*).[10] The betel (*zawád*) may be the same as that used by man (any of several varieties) or it may consist in the very small leaves (*dazapá*) that are absolutely of no use to human beings.

In order to become a proficient farmer it is necessary to have at least a fair knowledge of what the Isneg call the *taximmatón* or *taxemmatón*, the "signs". Here are a few of them:

The *yaŋyáŋ*, which is supposed to be a small insect: it announces the coming of the dry season, usually some time in March. No Isneg can claim ever to have set eyes upon it, as it is completely invisible: it is known only from its voice, which is very sweet.

The *sibulbúg*, a kind of large bird: its cry announces the arrival of the rainy season, usually some time in November.

The first appearance of the *buúlún* or rainbow, which is one of the multitudinous spirits known by the Isneg: it proves that the rainy season has set in.

The *ariwánat* or Milky Way: if it becomes visible after a prolonged period of rain, it forecasts fair weather for several days to come.

The *bíbig*, which is a kind of bird of average size with grey plumage: it foreshadows a period of very heavy rainfall.

Other *taximmatón* that indicate the time at which some particular kind of work is to be performed, will be mentioned in due time.

As it is exceedingly important for the progress and the final success of any kind of business that all necessary rules be observed, that no taboos be infringed, and that nothing be done that might go counter to the will of the spirits, indicated in various ways, I shall now give a few hints to the farmer with reference to work in the field in general. At the same time, some of these hints may be of use to an Isneg who wants to embark on some enterprise that has nothing to do with farming or gardening.

First of all, the Isneg should be convinced that none of his exertions will be of any benefit to him, if they go on without the blessing and coöperation of the spirits. Therefore, whenever possible, he must recite the following prayer, or a similar one, in the morning, before going to work:

[9] *Dazíkan, azodón*, etc., different kinds of fresh-water gastropods, all of them having a long tapering spire. The *azodón* is larger than the *dazíkan*.

[10] The *tabáyad* is a small white calabash with a very narrow neck, although less narrow than that of the *tañtáñ*, which is the kind of calabash used by the Isneg when they prepare *inapúzun* in honor of the *Pílay*-spirits, at harvesting time.

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Umúnakamí iddaggán kiyá agwiwiliyán (Come to wait for us where we go to work).[11]

The text of this prayer was furnished by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Very often the spirits give the Isneg warning not to work on a certain day, lest he incur their anger and his work be of no avail or the result of it be destroyed or rendered void. He should heed them and keep a holiday (*magúllin*) whenever it is intimated to him. Here follow some of these warnings:

When you hear the voice of one of the following birds: the *buwákaw*, the *bakákaw*, the *bissaxáw*,[12] or the *púro*,[13] for the first time, you must stay at home for one whole day without going out to work. Should you be on your way in the morning, do not proceed, but come back home, and remain there for the rest of the day. Should you hear it in the evening, stay at home the next day. If you happen to hear it again later on, it does not signify anything.

When you hear for the first time the lowing (*úza*) of a deer (*ugtá*), whether in the evening or at night or early in the morning, do not go to work in the field the next day, whether you be man or woman, because, if you do, the deer will inevitably consume all your plants (*múla*). In some districts, however, this is observed only by men at the time of clearing the ground for a prospective rice field, which is exclusively a man's job.

In case of hail (*ulalázo*), which the Isneg consider as the substance of the rain (*baggát udán*), the following day should be observed as a holiday. The same obtains during the dry season, when there is a shower of heavy rain (*arnáb*), so that rivers and brooks swell considerably, or when the streams become muddy and swollen (*balanbán*),[14] a sure sign that it rained hard somewhere upstream.

When you go to your work in the morning and you meet an omen bird or *labág*[15] that *magsúñit*, turn back (*maxulli*) immediately lest you meet danger on the way. The *magsúñit*-flying is more or less

[11] Literally: Where we go and from where we come back on the same day.

[12] So called from its cry. It is smaller than the *bakákaw* and is usually heard early in the evening.

[13] So called from its cry. It lives in the bushes and may be heard either in the morning or in the evening.

[14] Not to be confounded with *balañbán*, which is the name of the temporary fence built around the house of a deceased person.

[15] A small bird with red plumage, black at the throat.

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intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúñit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, " to start work ") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butít*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit *Gabbuwá* on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Baróyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla*, *muldn*) something, never take hold of a *báña* [16] in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwál*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must try as much as possible to observe what follows:

[16] An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

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One of the greatest enemies of the Isneg farmer is the locust (*dódon*), and consequently it will not seem strange that he is usually well acquainted with the names of several varieties of rice that can withstand these pests most effectually. We have, among others:

The *paturây*, without awns (*ibo*);

The *ortó-*, also awnless, and with rather small kernels: it is said by the Isneg to remain on the field even though all other varieties be consumed by locusts;

The *kuritây*, which has very tough leaves, no awns, and thin elongated kernels: it is comparatively rare and often used for purposes of divination. Knead a ball of cooked *kuritây*-rice and throw it a certain distance: if it falls down in a compact mass, you are sure to live long; should it break up or be smashed to pieces, the span of your life will be a short one.

In the same line may be mentioned the *binoázan*, which is supposed to be immune from the depredations of wild animals.

Then we have the *madiliya* (evidently from the Spanish *medalla*, "medal", which may be the reason why it is used for an amulet, as will be seen under the description of the preparation of seeds for planting), a kind of *dékat* or oily rice. The sweets made from this variety remain soft for a considerable time, even to the third and fourth "night", as the Isneg puts it, who counts by nights, not by days.

The tallest and largest variety of rice is called *tâyútây*: its husk is very light-colored.

The *xirxirá-* is the despair of the housewife, as it is exceedingly hard to pound: its husk is variegated and it has no awns.

It sometimes happens that the Isneg plants several varieties of rice or palay[18] in one and the same field; but, if he does so, he is always careful to keep each variety to its own patch of ground and not to plant them indiscriminately all over the field. In this case, each variety is known by the name of *xánan*. Thus, when the Isneg says that he has three *xánan* in his field, he means that his field is divided into three sections, each of them planted with a different variety of palay. It should be noted though that the name *xánan* is applied to the rice that grows there and not to the patch of soil in which it is planted.

[18] A name which is used extensively all over the Islands and means "rice in the husk or paddy".

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243 Very often two or more Isneg contrive to have plots of ground that are contiguous, so as the better to be able to withstand the inroads of wild animals. "Union makes might": the Belgian motto is true even in Apayaw. Another point not to be overlooked in this connection is that, by working on the same mountain slope, there springs up between the men a kind of rivalry, as each Isneg tries to emulate and to outdo his companion, which results, of course, to the advantage of all concerned. In such cases, however, they always leave a strip of ground uncleared to serve for a natural boundary (*naglatán* or *papandanán*) between two contiguous rice fields.

243 787 When the time has come to begin the all-important *mañumá* (clearing), no conscientious Isneg embarks upon a venture that means so much to himself and to his family, before he has taken all possible precautions. Therefore on the day on which he has decided to tackle this job, he first of all spends a considerable time in observing the flight of the omen-bird (*labág*) or, to say it in Isneg, he *mañlabág*. To do this, he leaves the village and sits down somewhere at a place outside of the group of houses, where he is morally sure of seeing *labág*-birds. Once he has espied one of them, he carefully observes all its movements: should it stay where it is, or at least always remain at the same side without crossing in front of him, the omen is good, and he may safely go ahead. The same is true if the bird flies across from the left side to the right, which is called *púlad* or *ulád*. Should it pass the other way, that is from right to left, this is a bad omen, which is called *pákam* or *akám* (in Main branch: *páam* or *aám*; in Bayag: *axám*), and the Isneg must wait until the next day before he tries his luck again. A prudent farmer, however, spends a good many hours in observation and does not rest content with the favorable answer of one single bird; he usually tries to have the omen of the first one confirmed by one or more others of the same kind. Should the omen have been bad from the beginning, it would be useless, of course, to wait any longer; the only thing for him to do is to go home and come back the next day.

243 On the day a favorable omen has been granted and not contradicted, the Isneg, armed with his *aliwá* or hatchet, proceeds to his future *kómān*, and does what they call *manatálon* or *talónan*. This consists in cutting down (*magpatpát*, *patpátān*) the bushes (not the trees) grasses, sedges, bamboo grass (*bassáw*, Miscanthus sinensis),[26] etc.

[26] Called *pattár*, if old and dry without having been cut.

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[534] 243 784 under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end. It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made *kómān*.

243 825 789 A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsí-* in the future rice field. The *amsí-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant, very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

[534]

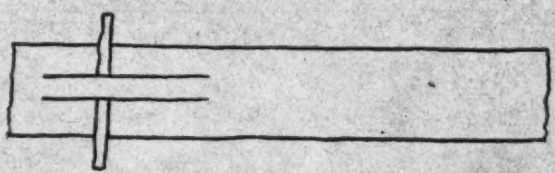

Fig. 3. *Piráy.*

213 762 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well-deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assíp*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsíp*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field.

243 824 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitál* (also called *bitúl* and *binitulán*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*nílin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kómān*.

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Both these offerings must be hung on top of a long pole stuck in the ground somewhere near the *sízăy*. The *Kapónăn*-spirits reign over flowering bamboo grass, which they use for paddy, without ever consuming it: they are much to be dreaded, as they deeply resent the destruction of their property and revenge themselves by causing the culprits to become sick. Now, as almost anybody occasionally cuts down one of these canes in flower, the only way to avoid their wrath is to do as has been told whenever you move into a new *sízăy*-hut.

When you enter your *sízăy* for the first time, especially if you have children with you, hang a small piece of *binaladdibád*-pudding somewhere above the door, as an offering to the tutelary spirits of the hut. Besides, whenever you go to your *sízăy* accompanied by one or more children, take along a little pudding and strew it along the road, lest the little ones become *masi-mát* (sickness caused by spirits); but if you have no youngsters with you, it is not necessary to do this. In case there is no pudding at hand, leave your children at home.

The spirit who takes all huts under his protection, whether they be *sízăy* or *báwi*,[33] is called *Baláwi*: he resides in the mountains, and must be propitiated by the offering of *inapúxăn*, lest the owner of the hut become sick.

An appropriate prayer to go with the offering that is made on the occasion of a new *sízăy* or *báwi*, is the following: it is one of those called *pisi-* (offering), and the text was given me by *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch).

Nénu aníto ta umad-adăyyókăyo kiyá pazag-agiyandnmi (Here is for you, spirits, so that you go away from our dwelling).

Whenever the husband brings home *níxăy*[34] for his family to eat, if the meal takes place in the *sízăy* (not in the house), a small part of each *níxăy* must be thrown away as an offering to the spirits, lest any member of the household present at the time be *mabalsíkăn* (sickness caused by spirits).

The presence of an *arípit*-bird near the *sízăy* is usually disastrous to the owners of the *kómăn*. Indeed, should its cry happen to be heard at that place, while work is being done in the field, whether planting or anything else, the crop will certainly be spoiled; if heard at planting time, nothing will spring up; if later, no rice will be harvested.

[33] Temporary huts built on the ground, not raised on posts, in any place except the rice field.

[34] Living beings caught for food, as fishes, birds, deer, etc., not insects.

796 smallest feast is the *pespes*, given at the beginning of harvest, or for a sick child. Only a chicken or maybe, a pig is killed. After eating, the people go to the field and work until quite dark. A coconut is divided and half left for the field. The other half is eaten on arriving home.

753 [753] A *coglot*, given to an *anito* for the recovery of a sick person, deserves further mention. If one of the family becomes sick, they think that the spirit of the sick one has wandered away and been caught by some *anito*. They call for one or more priestesses according to their wealth. This priestess holds a consultation to discover, either which *anito* is keeping the spirit, or which *anito* to ask to go and take the spirit away from the evil *anito*, and thus bring the sick back to health.

Upon deciding which *anito* to call, they tie a live [757] pig at the door, and the priestess calls the *anito*. Then she touches the patient, sometimes applying native herbs, oil, or lime on the parts affected. The dog or pig is then killed, and the priestess prays the *anito* to take the spirit of the animal instead of the spirit of the sick person.

[791] The next morning the patient gives the priestess the beads, plates, *aliwa*, and all the articles used by her in the ceremony.

● 787 Auguries are practised by observing the flight and call of birds.

The various calls of the *awanac* are important. Ten different calls are distinguished and are classified as *mulad*, foretelling good fortune; or *umgad*, foretelling misfortune.

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The sound of a *dicat* on the way foretells good luck, but if a *labeg* flits across a man's path, he must return home; for he would have met trouble on the way.

If a man goes to gather materials for a house and happens to see a wild rooster, the house will be burnt.

If a *balsit* enters a house through the window and goes out through the door, a member of the house will die soon.

There are also many omens to be observed. Some of these are:

If you dream that you are flying, you will become an orphan.

If you dream that your teeth fall out, one of your relatives will die soon.

If you eat twin bananas, you will give birth to twins.

If you have long thick ears, you will have a long life.

If the lines on the palms of your hands are good, you will become rich.

If a cat, while facing the door, wipes its face; some one is coming.

If a large lizard (iguana) should enter a house, some one in it will die.

If a short rainbow appears during the beginning of the constructon of a house, the people will have stomach trouble and one will die if the work is not discontinued.

If a person is setting out to go somewhere and someone sneezes, the traveler will meet some danger

787 on the way. So he must return, sit down, and wait awhile before setting out again.

If a man on his way to make *kaiñgin* meets a rat or hears a deer barking, the rat or the deer will eat all the rice plants in that place. So he must start another *kaiñgin*. Also, if he should happen to break his *aliwa*, some one in his family will die if he does not make his *kaiñgin* in another place.

784 Moreover there are many things which one is prohibited from doing. Some of these taboos are:

Do not leave the windows of the house open at night. If you do, a ghost, *alolag*, will come in and kill the people.

Do not cut your finger nails nor pull out any of your hair while working. If you do, you will get sick.

Do not leave while one is still eating in the house. If you do, you will get sick.

784 Do not eat the heart of a pig when a little child.
262 If you do, you will have misfortune.

Do not eat sour things if some one has died in the house, unless he is a relative.

Do not eat venison during the harvest season. If you so, your stomach will become large like the deer's, and you will consume too much rice.

784 Do not speak angrily at a rat. If you do, the rats will eat all there is in the house.

784 Do not laugh while planting *ubi* or *camote*. If
241 you do, these root vegetables will laugh so that all their skins will be found to be burst open when you harvest them.

Do not look up while planting bananas. If you do, the plants will grow so tall that it will be hard to pick the fruit.

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

000 So the next morning he told his wife that he was going to the forest to look for some more honey. He then left his wife, saying that he would be back late in the afternoon. At noon, while he was in the forest, he heard the loud noise of many monkeys. He crept slowly toward them and hid himself behind a tree. He saw a big band of monkeys. Some of them were white. He watched carefully to see what the monkeys were doing.

He saw two big monkeys sitting near a large jar. One was distributing *basi* from the jar to his companions, and the other was sitting facing his companions. They had two little coconut bowls which they used in drinking the *basi*. They kept on drinking the *basi* until all the monkeys were drunk. The man rushed toward the jar and carried it away from the monkeys. He brought the jar home and placed it in yard of his house.

787 He was so tired that he did not eat his supper
782 before sleeping. While he was sleeping he had another dream. He dreamt that he must not keep the jar without butchering a white-spotted pig, a dog spotted with white, and a chicken likewise marked. If this was not done, surely he would die.

This was done thru the help of his relatives. The priestess made a prayer, and a feast was held in honor of the jar. All the relatives and neighbors came to see the jar. They named it "Ayong." Now it is handed down from generation to generation. This jar now is in the possession of the head man, Pugyao, in Cabacnan.